

# Concerning the campaign of slander against the CPP and the revolutionary movement by Walden Bello, Akbayan and the Trotskyites

## Introduction

**T**his special issue of *Ang Bayan* is being published in response to the widespread clamor from Party members and revolutionary forces for a more comprehensive discussion on the attacks and campaign of slander being perpetrated by Akbayan and Walden Bello, side-by-side with vilifications by the Trotskyites, since December 2004.

It will be recalled that, in its December 7, 2004 issue, *Ang Bayan* published a diagram prepared by the CPP International Department listing the international Trotskyite and social-democratic links of counterrevolutionary groups. The diagram sought to tear away their "revolutionary" masks and expose the real character of Trotskyites as intriguers and pseudo-revolutionaries out to wreck the revolution in the guise of their anarchy and of Akbayan as apologists and collaborators of the ruling reactionary system and bureaucratic-military esta-

blishment in the guise of their pseudo-reformism.

A few weeks later, Akbayan and its chairman emeritus Walden Bello came out in the media, simultaneously with a Trotskyite dilettante, all lashing at the CPP for publishing the diagram. They misrepresented the diagram as a "hit list" to demonize the CPP and National Democratic Front (NDF) senior political consultant Jose Ma. Sison, who they maliciously claimed to be the author of the diagram.

Subsequently, Bello, Akbayan and the Trotskyites extended their campaign to international anti-globalization organizations and fora, maligning the CPP and the Philippine revolutionary movement in the vain hope of ranging these forces against the CPP. Bello and his like also engaged in Red-baiting, echoing the oft-repeated military propaganda line of labeling aboveground, legal organizations

as "controlled" by or "associated" with the Communist Party.

The attacks by Bello, Akbayan and the Trotskyites have been vigorously countered by the Party and the NDF through a series of statements and articles published in newspapers and posted on different websites. *Ang Bayan* has likewise featured several articles since December, exposing Akbayan as a bastion of pseudo-reformism that has intently and maliciously served as the fascist military's political instrument in the latter's war against the revolutionary armed movement.

In countering Bello, Akbayan and the Trotskyite's attacks against the CPP and the revolutionary movement, the revolutionary forces have transformed a bad thing into a good thing. The revolutionary forces maximized the opportunity to thoroughly expose what those pretenders really stand

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for.

In the end, by carrying out their vile attacks against the CPP, Bello and Akbayan and the Trotskyites have exposed themselves and were further stripped down to their core as conscious defenders of the ruling system.

Events in the past months have bared this more clearly: as the reactionary state launched a vicious fascist campaign against the national democratic mass organizations and other progressive forces—the very same organizations that Akbayan redbaited—these pretenders to revolution and reform had kept silent. In the end, they issued a rather comical statement calling on the Arroyo regime—the perpetrator no less, of the recent acts of state terrorism—to “protect its citizens.”

Akbayan in particular has also supported the Arroyo regime in its effort to compel the NDF to capitulate to the reactionary state

through the peace negotiations. For a long time, Akbayan had been sitting at the government side of the negotiating table.

Akbayan's very acts have exposed it as an adjunct of the ruling reactionary state. Yet, it insists on calling itself a “progressive” force—“Left,” even—to counterpose itself against the CPP and the revolutionary armed movement; and lead the people away from the path of revolutionary armed struggle and into the path of pseudo-reformism and tokenism.

In attacking the Communist Party of the Philippines and the revolutionary armed struggle, Bello and Akbayan are waging a political and ideological battle to counter Marxism-Leninism, cover up the fundamental class contradictions in Philippine society and conceal the class nature of the reactionary state and ruling system. They systematically work to lead the people away from militant struggle, put



forward proposals to “improve” the system, deflect the demand of the working class to put an end to capitalism, and drown the clamor for people’s new democracy and socialism in the hope of putting themselves forward as the Filipino people’s “new alternative” to the prevailing oppressive and exploitative social and political system.

This special issue, which features a selection of documents and statements issued by the NDF and the CPP, seeks to provide revolutionary forces with a ready reference to grasp fully the pseudo-reformist politics of Bello and Akbayan and the revolution-wrecking views of the Trotskyites and how these are being used against the revolutionary movement. Pseudo-revolutionism and pseudo-reformism, especially when camouflaged with pseudo-progressive and “revolutionary” rhetoric, remain potentially counterrevolutionary. These must be completely unmasked and repudiated for the revolution to move forward. **AB**



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# Rejoinder to slander article of French Trotskyite Pierre Rousset

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National Democratic Front of the Philippines  
1 April 2005

If the Philippine revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) were so inhuman as French Trotskyite Pierre Rousset wishes to depict it in his latest diatribe against the movement and the CPP, "The CPP-NPA-NDF Hit List, A Preliminary Report", why is it that this same movement continues to get wide support from the people and is considered by the Philippine puppet state as the biggest threat to its reactionary rule? The Filipino people's own judgment is a more reliable yardstick for judging the Philippine revolutionary movement rather than some armchair activist long ensconced as a staffer in a cozy office at the European parliament.

Pierre Rousset has made a career out of attacking and trying to discredit the Philippine revolutionary movement. Among others, he has written three articles focusing on the so-called "assassination policy" of the CPP making general assertions bereft of any credible evidence. His latest piece, the fourth on the subject, which he considers still "preliminary" merely repeats his old assertions. His lies have no effect in the Philippines and it would have been all right just to ignore them. But we take the time to answer him because his lies can mislead people abroad who may not have the benefit of knowing the facts on the ground.

While Pierre Rousset rants about the non-existent "assassina-

tion policy" of the CPP, the Philippine state has actually gone berserk assassinating leaders and activists of open mass organizations and political parties tagged by the Philippine military as "CPP fronts". From January to March alone this year, 34 leaders and members of progressive organizations including a priest have been killed in death squad-style operations and five others kidnapped and are still missing up to the present. A well-respected lawyer serving as chief legal counsel for the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the NDFP, UN ad litem Judge Romeo T. Capulong, has been the target of an assassination attempt.

One might wonder why none of the groups anointed by Pierre Rousset as "independent revolutionary Left parties" have been attacked by the Philippine military. One might also wonder why none of them has raised even a squeak against the latest spate of state-sponsored killings.

But things begin to clear up when an armed grouping considered by Pierre Rousset as an "independent revolutionary Left party", RPM-P/RPA-ABB, boasts of having carried out the cold-blooded murder of a BAYAN MUNA leader, Romeo Sanchez, in northern Luzon. This same "independent revolutionary Left Party" openly admitted

recently to have coordinated with the Philippine Army in attacking a New People's Army (NPA) camp in Negros, southern Philippines. Talk of "independence"!

**"The global picture."** This Pierre Rousset is quite a tricky fellow. He focuses on the so-called "assassination policy" of the CPP under the heading "The global picture". If you are not careful, you would think that the CPP does nothing except kill and threaten its ideological opponents. To really get the global picture about the CPP and the Philippine revolution, we invite the reader to visit the website: <http://www.philippinerevolution.org/>.

Many of the so-called "independent revolutionary Left Parties" mentioned by Pierre Rousset sneaked out of the Communist Party of the Philippines when the CPP decided to rectify erroneous policies in the 1980s that had resulted in the weakening of the revolutionary movement. These errors consisted of pushing for early military victory through artificial means like combining mass protest actions in the cities with burning of buses and bombing of government installations to "create a revolutionary crisis", and embarking on a premature regularization of the people's army and an unsustainable kind of intensification of guerrilla warfare in the countryside. The Party also decided to denounce and rectify the so-called anti-DPA campaigns such as Kam-

panyang AHOS that victimized many Party members and mass activists.

The main proponents behind these errors like Arturo Tabara, Romulo Kintanar, Filemon Lagman, Ricardo Reyes and Benjamin de Vera refused to follow the Party's decision to criticize and repudiate these errors and separated themselves from the CPP with their factions and stole CPP assets. Upon leaving the Party, these factions tried but failed to form a common front. Apparently, the only thing they had in common was their opposition to the CPP

Of course, Pierre Rousset does not want any discussion on the real nature of these breakaway factions. For him, the "real issue is the right of a pluralist and revolutionary Left to exist in the Philippines." Here, we have the real agenda of Trotskyite Pierre Rousset. What is after all the life's mission of any dyed-in-the-wool Trotskyite but to applaud and instigate splits within the revolutionary movement? The original Trotsky advocated "freedom of factions" to instigate splits inside the Communist Party in Russia. The new Trotskyists advocate "pluralism" to instigate splits in the Left. What Pierre Rousset actually wants is a fragmented and collaborationist "Left."

The general policy of the CPP with regard to these breakaway groups has been to struggle with them ideologically and politically to minimize the damage they can create in sowing disunity and confusion among the people in their life and death struggle against the reactionary ruling system in the Philippines. It is of course a different matter if some of these groups or individuals belonging to these groups engage in criminal activities, such as acting as spies or as

death squads for the Philippine military intelligence services.

Let us now take up Rousset's favorite cases:

1. Arturo Tabara and his group, the RPM-P/RPA-ABB. The RPM-P/RPA-ABB is a merger of a breakaway group in Negros island that took the name Revolutionary Proletarian Army (RPA) and a splinter of the Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB) that used to operate in Metro Manila under Filemon Lagman and Nilo de la Cruz.

The ABB under Lagman and de la Cruz (with the blessings of Romulo Kintanar, who was then a high official of the NPA) carried out indiscriminate killings of more than 200 policemen (including traffic policemen). The reactionary military and police took advantage of this error to make a violent counterattack on activists and leaders of popular organizations of the urban poor and Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN) in Metro Manila. Lagman and de la Cruz also promoted the line of insurrection in the cities that consisted of combining mass protest actions with burning of buses and bombing of public installations.

After leaving the CPP, the two parted ways and quarreled over the division of some P80 million of bribe money from a real estate developer for their role in facilitating the ejection of urban poor families from a piece of real estate the developer wanted to convert into a commercial area. This quarrel led to the killing of Lagman. Despite all evidence, Pierre Rousset insists that the CPP is responsible for Lagman's murder. We advise him to ask the brother of Filemon Lagman himself who he thinks is the real killer.

Arturo Tabara's RPA on the other hand has been acting as special

death squads of the state and as armed goons for big landlords in Negros, the biggest being the old Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco. This group recently boasted of killing nine NPA fighters (actually two NPA fighters were killed) in an attack on an NPA camp coordinated with the Philippine Army's 61st Infantry Battalion. This attack is part of ongoing military operations of the Philippine Army intended to clear the way for the resumption of operations of foreign mining companies in the area. The peasant masses are opposed to the operation of these mining companies because of the destruction they bring on their farms and fishing grounds.

The RPA-ABB has been conveniently "deputized" by the governor of Negros Oriental Jorge Arnaiz as "forest guards", in fact, special death squads, to protect—not the forest—but the foreign mining companies. A human rights organization in Negros has called the RPA-ABB a "special armed gang" of Governor Arnaiz (a local warlord in his own right) and the paramilitary arm of the Philippine Army in its "counterinsurgency" operations

The RPA-ABB has also claimed responsibility for the killing of Romeo Sanchez on 9 March 2005 in Baguio City. Sanchez was the regional coordinator of Bayan Muna political party tagged by the military as a "CPP front". He was a media man and the director-general of the UNESCO has condemned the killing and other unsolved killings of journalists in the Philippines

As for Arturo Tabara, top dog of the RPM-P/RPA-ABB, he had become an agent of the Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (ISAFP). As a special psywar agent, he belonged to the enemy armed forces and under international law was an armed com-

batant and a legitimate military target. Any armed companion of his also became liable in any shooting situation.

2. Conrado Balweg and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA). Balweg left the NPA and formed the CPLA after the overthrow of Marcos in 1986. He came under the influence of Agapito Aquino, brother-in-law of Corazon Aquino. He later surrendered to the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and his CPLA was integrated into the GRP's paramilitary, the Citizens' Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU). As part of the CAFGU, the CPLA conducted military operations against the NPA and abused the people, even killing some tribal leaders. Balweg and his CPLA naturally became legitimate military targets.

The CPLA has now reportedly fragmented into four smaller factions.

3. Leopoldo Mabilangan. He was never head of the NPA Banahaw Command as Pierre Rousset asserts. He became its spokesperson during negotiations for the release of five army officers taken as prisoners of war by the NPA. He later deserted the NPA and surrendered to the GRP when he was being investigated for harboring the Red Scorpion Group, a kidnap-for-ransom gang.

A local politician-warlord took him under his protection. He turned into an armed government agent and was active in psywar campaigns calling for the surrender of NPA fighters and in setting up government-funded fake cooperatives to draw the peasant masses away from the revolutionary struggle. Eduardo Borromeo, a friend of Leopoldo Mabilangan, was engaged in similar activities and was an armed enemy of the NPA.

4. The Akbayan/Peace Foundation/Task Force Bondoc Peninsula grouping. During the campaign period for the 2004 elections, AKBAYAN joined in the chorus of red-baiting against progressive party-lists—Bayan Muna, Anakpawis, Anak ng Bayan, Gabriela Women's Party, Migrante Party List, and Suara—orchestrated by the right-wing bureaucrat National Security Adviser Norberto Gonzales.

Threatened by the strong showing of these party-lists in pre-election surveys, the Macapagal-Arroyo regime did everything to disenfranchise and discredit these party-list groups. Norberto Gonzales personally went to the office of the GRP Commission on Elections and tried to block the registration of these parties on the pretext that these were "CPP front organizations." In the course of the election campaign, leaders and activists belonging to these party-list groups suffered harassment and physical attacks from the Philippine Army and government-backed paramilitary groups. Fourteen were killed (10 from Bayan Muna, three from Anakpawis and one from Gabriela), three Bayan Muna leaders were disappeared, one office was raided, and another nearly burned through arson. GRP soldiers intimidated people especially in the countryside from voting for these progressive party-list groups and openly campaigned for AKBAYAN and other administration parties. The military reported having killed 117 people in the countryside and alleged that 55 of them were political supporters and 62 were members of the New People's Army.

Peace Foundation/Task Force Bondoc Peninsula was set up by Manuel Quiambao who used to be in the Peasant Secretariat of the CPP. While in the CPP, he pushed for "left" tactics of land occupations and peasant uprisings that

were premature and unsustainable. After he left the CPP, he veered to the right begging the landlord-dominated Philippine government to distribute land through the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL) passed in 1987 during the term of big landlord Corazon Aquino. Her family owns the Hacienda Luisita that has escaped expropriation through the "stock option" swindle and other loopholes deliberately inserted by landlord congressmen in the CARL.

Peace Foundation/Task Force Bondoc Peninsula has been trying to organize peasants in the Bondoc Peninsula in Southern Quezon around the promise of "land" transfer through the CARL. Surely, they are just out to hoodwink the peasant masses. (In fact, "certificates of land transfer" and "certificates of land ownership amortization" previously distributed are now being nullified simply through land reclassification on a national scale.) Dioscoro Tejeno, whom Rousset describes as a peasant leader, is a member of a paramilitary unit attached to the 74th Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army based in Barrio Ajos, Catnauan, Quezon in the Bondoc Peninsula. A barrio official has testified that he saw Dioscoro Tejeno in June 2004 in Barrio San Vicente, San Narciso, Quezon, wearing fatigue uniform and carrying an M16 rifle in the company of 20 soldiers belonging to the 74th IB.

Dioscoro Tejeno's own niece, Prescy Tejeno Melendrez has testified to having seen Dioscoro together with other members of the "peasant association" of the Peace/Bondoc Development program, Roger Tejeno, Jesus Tayac-tac, Eugene Vivar and Herman Valiente, carrying pistols and rifles placed inside sacks for rice.

These four are now facing the charge of murder in the GRP Munic-

ipal Circuit Trial Court of San Narciso-Buenavista for the killing of Paulo Tejeno, Dioscoro's own brother, whom Dioscoro has falsely accused of being an NPA member. The victim was "expelled" in 2001 from the Peace/Bondoc Development Program "peasant association" by Dioscoro and company because he criticized the latter's anti-social activities like the slaughter of the workhorse of a barrio resident and their cattle-rustling activities. Dioscoro and the four suspects in the murder of Paulo Tejeno are now reportedly hiding in the office of the Peace Foundation in Metro Manila.

Rousset mentions the cases of Lito Bayudang and Florente Ocmen, supposed officers of Akbayan killed by the NPA. According to reports we received, Lito Bayudan, not "Bayudang," was a former NPA member who later became one of the ringleaders of the Red Vigilante Group, a paramilitary group of the Philippine Army. This paramilitary group also maintains links with the RPA-ABB. Florente Ocmen on the other hand was charged and found guilty by a people's court in two rape cases. These are the types of people Akbayan touts as its officers—one a death squad member, the other, a rapist!

5. Romulo Kintanar. He was an intelligence agent of the Manila government's military and police since 1992. As such he was a combatant in the ongoing civil war between the GRP and the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people, represented by the NDFP in peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP.

No less than GRP President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo confirmed that Kintanar was an intelligence agent of the Manila government. The *Philippine Star* on 27 January 2003 reported in its banner story,

NPA Admits Kintanar Slay: "President Arroyo confirmed that Kintanar was working as a government intelligence agent at the time of his assassination." Earlier, on 23 January 2003, an official in Arroyo's Malacañang Palace said Kintanar was "a consultant of the Philippine National Police (PNP) and Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), but was drawing his salary from the Bureau of Immigration and Deportation (BID)" (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, Breaking News, 24 January 2003, Communist Party Chief Blamed for Slay of Former NPA Head). He was also a security consultant to the National Electrification Administration (NEA) at the time of his death.

Efforts to recruit Kintanar into the military intelligence were successfully carried out in the period of March to August 1992 when PNP intelligence officer Col. Robert Delfin faked the arrest of his asset Ricardo Reyes, a renegade expelled from the CPP more than a decade ago, and put him in the same detention cell as Kintanar in order to turn him against the revolutionary movement.

After his release from prison through an amnesty program of the Manila government in September 1992, Kintanar made known his separation from the CPP. He started to work for the intelligence services of the GRP and also became thoroughly involved in the criminal world of corrupt military and police officers engaging in protection rackets, armed robbery, kidnapping and murder for hire, even putting up his own private security agency (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 24 January 2003, Ibid) as cover for his nefarious activities.

Kintanar, together with his uncle, Gen. Galileo Kintanar, former head of the Intelligence Service of the AFP (ISAFP) during the Marcos regime, was linked to the murder of

movie star Nida Blanca and was known to facilitate transactions with the military and police for a fee. Two days before his death, Kintanar was one of the special guests of PNP chief General Hermogenes Ebdane at the 12th founding anniversary of the National Capital Regional Police Office (NCRPO), hobnobbing with top police officers (*The Philippine Star*, 24 January 2003, Ex-NPA Chieftain Slain). Also another special guest was Arturo Tabara, who was the chieftain of the RPA gang, a security force of big landlord and Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco in Negros Occidental.

In 2000, after becoming security consultant to Gen. Alexander Aguirre, former President Joseph Estrada's national security adviser, Kintanar was designated project officer in an assassination plot against Prof. Jose Maria Sison in The Netherlands. He followed the direction of Gen. Panfilo Lacson, head of the PNP at the time. (*Manila Times*, 24 January 2003, Ex-NPA Chief Assassinated Inside QC Restaurant) He also took part in surveillance and other "counter-insurgency" operations by the military and police against the CPP and NPA.

At the time of his death, Kintanar was with two bodyguards and was personally armed with three guns: a .45 caliber pistol, an HK machine pistol and a Glock 9mm pistol (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 6 February 2003, Kintanar Lost Rolex, Cash, 3 Guns, Golf Set). As an intelligence agent of the GRP, he was always ready for combat against the revolutionary movement.

Kintanar was definitely a combatant. He was fully armed and dangerous at the time of his death. These facts are well known in the Philippines. But some groups and individuals abroad like Pierre Rous-

set would rather peddle lies than tell the truth about events in the Philippines in their vicious scheme to malign the Philippine revolutionary movement.

6. MLPP/RHB: An armed group that broke away from the NPA and operates in some parts of Central Luzon. They have engaged the NPA in combat. The alleged "killings of unarmed organizers of MLPP/RHB" mentioned by Pierre Rousset are actually the result of armed encounters between MLPP/RHB and the NPA.

7. RPM-M/RPA: A small break-away armed group operating in a limited area in Central Mindanao.

This is another anti-communist armed group similar to the RPM-P/RPA and the MLPP/RHB. Pierre Rousset's Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire has bilateral relations with this armed group.

With regard to the other groups like Siglaya, Alab Katipunan, Bisig, BMP, IPD, Pandayan, Sanlakas, etc., the CPP wages ideological and political struggle in the nature of struggle of ideas vis-a-vis these groups. The CPP and its allied organizations go

to the people to explain to them the dangers of reformism and "left" revolutionism advocated by some of these groups that can derail or hinder the further advance of the people's struggle.

The diagram of counterrevolutionary and pseudo-progressive organizations and their international connections published in the December issue of *Ang Bayan*, the official news organ of the CPP, is part of the effort to explain to the members of the Party and allied organizations and to the Filipino people about the nature of these groups.

Walden Bello turned this diagram into a CPP "hit list" and went into a frenzy, jetsetting all over the globe spitting poison against the CPP and redbaiting people's organizations in the legal democratic movement. Pierre Rousset was quick to pick up the canard and add his own twists.

**A word about Trotskyites.** These pseudo-revolutionaries who have never led any real revolution try to insert themselves into the people's movement by riding on popular issues. At worst, like Trotsky himself, they receive funds

from the imperialists to specialize in penetrating progressive movements and attacking communist parties. They pretend to be Left when in fact they are Right.

A good example of Trotskyite counterrevolutionary activity is pretending to be for a broad movement like the ATTAC<sup>1</sup> project in Europe. But the ultimate narrow objective of the Trotskyites is to bring the movement to a cul de sac of reformism and anti-communism. If only to lead people astray, they exaggerate expectations that the Tobin tax<sup>2</sup>, a tax of 0.1-0.25% on currency trade around the globe would be collected by the state and spent for preventing global warming, disease and poverty.

They propose to ATTAC only a teeny-weeny bit of the transactions of finance capital and to leave the rest intact. A very fine proposal indeed to plead to the conscience of the monopoly bourgeoisie while making imperialist plunder palatable to the oppressed and exploited workers and peoples of the world! And yet the proposal is really a lot of hot air because it all depends on reformist begging which the monopoly bourgeoisie can ignore easily. AB

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<sup>1</sup>ATTAC or the Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens was formed to oversee the administration of the Tobin tax in several countries. Since the 1990s, reformists have appealed to imperialist governments to apply the Tobin tax and use the tax proceeds to fund poverty alleviation projects. The proponents give the false impression that imperialism is benevolent and reformable and naively presume that the "conscience-stricken" monopoly bourgeoisie will heed their pleas.

<sup>2</sup>The Tobin tax (named after American economist James Tobin who first proposed the idea in 1972) is a small tax on cross-border currency transactions originally designed to curb currency speculation.

## On the political diagram appearing in the *Ang Bayan* issue of December 7, 2004

International Department  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
28 January 2005

The International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) drew up the political diagram in question as an educational material for cadres in international relations work. As in the case of other diagrams the ID has prepared, the purpose is to guide the revolutionary forces in applying the policy and tactics of the united front and conducting the method of unity and struggle in dealing with various political forces and individuals in order to advance the worldwide struggle against the principal enemy, which is US imperialism.

This particular diagram seeks to show the various grouplets that have originated from elements who had tried to instigate a split in 1992 after our Party's Central Committee launched the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM). It traces how these elements put up their own grouplets and, in turn, how these have fragmented further into even smaller grouplets that vainly try to magnify themselves and their attacks on our Party in the Philippines by linking up abroad with various Trotskyite factions and some social democrats.

The diagram is used in educational sessions as well as in briefing sessions for foreign comrades from parties and progressive organizations with which the CPP has relations. It is only one of a series of diagrams in a political map that our cadres in international work use as a guide in approaching other parties and organizations or entertaining approaches from the same for mutual support and cooperation.

In a visit to the office of *Ang Bayan* early last year, one of our ID

staff members gave *Ang Bayan* staffers a briefing on the state of our international relations work, updated them on the linkages of pseudo-Left groups in the Philippines, shared with them the diagram with the caption "CONTRA relations with Trotskyites and others, as of January 2004". This is basically what *Ang Bayan* subsequently published under the title "Links of counterrevolutionary groups with Trotskyites and social-democrats".

As you have well informed us, these grouplets in their political practice have made the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP their main targets of attack. We, in the International Department, have observed that because their attacks on the revolutionary forces do not find resonance among progressive circles in the Philippines, they project their attacks abroad through various Trotskyite factions and certain institutions run by social democrats. They then feedback the foreign echoes of their attacks to the conservative media in the Philippines. This is now what Bello and company are doing in their

hysterical spin against the revolutionary forces in the Philippines, and in particular, the NDFP chief political consultant, Prof. Jose Maria Sison.

The most brazenly false conclusions from the political diagram have been drawn by the likes of Walden Bello and his imperialist-funded NGO, Focus on the Global South, and their international supporter Pierre Rousset of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionaire of the French Section of the Fourth International and his Trotskyite friends in Hungary, Ireland and elsewhere.

Pierre Rousset of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionaire who is in the secretariat of the GUE-NLG (United European Left-Nordic Green Left) in the European Parliament has long been using his position therein to spread poison against the forces of national liberation and democracy, glorify as martyrs certain armed agents of the reactionary armed forces of the Philippines like Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara and witchhunt Prof. Jose Maria Sison and blame him for the actions of the New People's Army and thus reinforcing the "terrorist" listing made by the US, European Council and other governments.

In the current campaign of Walden Bello and the like to vilify and slander the forces of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy, our diagram is in the main being validated and we can observe, trace and further diagram the links among US-financed anti-CPP groups and Trotskyite factions. AB

# Comrade Luis Jalandoni's letter to the Central Committee regarding the political diagram

National Executive Committee

Negotiating Panel, National Democratic Front of the Philippines

February 9, 2005

We assume that you are well aware of the fact that Walden Bello and others of Akbayan and Focus on the Global South have misrepresented as a "hit list" the political diagram published by *Ang Bayan* in its December 7, 2004 issue that shows the state of fragmentation of anti-CPP groups in the Philippines and their respective foreign connections, mainly with various Trotskyite factions.

In misrepresenting the political diagram as a "hit list", Bello and other slanderers have proceeded to do the following:

1. Drum up in the Philippine and foreign press that Walden Bello and others are the targets of a CPP "assassination policy" against those who are categorized as holding anti-communist, counterrevolutionary or pseudo-progressive ideas,

2. Claim that the author of the diagram is Prof. Jose Maria Sison, our Chief Political Consultant in the NDFP, and thus reinforce the "terrorist" label initially put on him by the US government,

3. Redbait and "terrorist"-bait legal patriotic and progressive organizations in the Philippines under the pretext of calling on them to use their "links to, and influence on, the CPP" to stop the CPP "hit list" and "assassination policy",

4. Use the networks of the Focus on the Global South, Transnational Institute and various Trotskyite factions to conduct a campaign of slander against the CPP

and our Chief Political Consultant, and

5. mislead certain prestigious persons abroad to sign statements against revolutionary entities in the Philippines.

We request the CPP leadership to issue an official statement to refute such claims of Walden Bello and others as that the abovementioned diagram is a "hit list", that this diagram condemns Walden Bello and others to death and that there is a CPP assassination policy against those getting out of the CPP and holding contrary ideas.

We should not underestimate the slander campaign being conducted by Akbayan, Institute of Popular Democracy, Focus on the Global South, Transnational Institute and other entities heavily funded by US official funding agencies (AID, Asia Foundation, Endowment for Democracy and US Peace Institute) and US giant foundations like Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. These US-instigated entities have all the resources to sustain a campaign of anticommunist defamation remi-

niscent of the Cold War and currently aligned with the US line of "war on terrorism".

We can all see the orchestration of attacks against the CPP and our Chief Political Consultant. US Ambassador Francis Ricciardone has publicly announced that the CPP/NPA and our chief political consultant will stay on the "terrorist" list until the NDFP yields to the pacification and capitulation demanded by the GRP. No less than in a high-level national security meeting of the Arroyo cabinet did Norberto Gonzales propose the assassination of Comrade Sison. The recent European tour of the GRP delegation headed by Foreign Affairs Secretary Alberto Romulo asked European governments to apply restrictions and pressures on the NDFP Negotiating Panel and its consultants, staffers and others.

The orchestrated attacks against the forces and leaders of the Filipino people's movement for national liberation and democracy indicate that the US is hell-bent on pushing the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and keeping wide open the opportunities of US monopoly firms to acquire the public assets and natural resources of the Philippines as well as US military forces to escalate their military intervention and operations in the Philippines. **AB**

# Response of the Central Committee to Comrade Luis Jalandoni's letter

February 24, 2005

Warmest revolutionary greetings!

Thank you for your letter dated February 9, 2005.

We have observed with keen interest the orchestration of US-GRP maneuvers in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and the propaganda attacks against the CPP, NPA, NDFP and the NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

We agree with you that the slander campaign initiated by Walden Bello and partylist representative Etta Rosales and others of Akbayan and the Focus on the Global South is related to and augments the US-initiated "terrorist" listing of the CPP/NPA and the NDFP Chief Political Consultant and the demand for pacification and capitulation in the peace negotiations.

In response to your request, we hereby issue a formal denial of the malicious claims being circulated by Walden Bello and others:

1. The political diagram that was published in the December 7, 2004 issue of *Ang Bayan* is not a hit list. It is a diagram issued by our International Department for informing CPP members regarding the status and Trotskyite connections of certain anti-CPP groups in the Philippines. Attached hereto is a memorandum given to us by our

International Department explaining the circumstances of the diagram in question.

2. Walden Bello and his cohorts in the anti-CPP campaign are liars. We condemn their attempt to stigmatize and isolate the revolutionary forces in the Philippines by carrying out a witchhunt on legal patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines under the pretext of urging them to use their purported links to and influence on the CPP to stop a threat that these spinners of lies themselves have maliciously fabricated. We also condemn their attempts to hoodwink certain prominent personalities in some institutions, organizations and other agencies and turn them against the CPP on the basis of these fabrications.

3. As you yourselves have already been doing so, let us inform everyone, especially those whose understanding of the workings of the CPP is very superficial, that our Party upholds, defends and promotes human rights in accordance with the bill of fundamental rights in the Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government, the NDFP Unilateral Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva

Conventions and Protocol I and the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

4. We should further inform the public that anyone who has any complaint of human rights violation on any organization, agency, unit or personnel of the people's revolutionary government can present such complaint to the Joint Monitoring Committee, which exists and operates under the provision of the CARHRIHL. It is utterly malicious for anyone to address such complaints to the NDFP Chief Political Consultant, Prof. Jose Maria Sison in order to blame and pillory him in the corporate mass media and other rumor mills.

You may disseminate our letter, together with your letter, to shed light on the malicious fabrications and provocations being made by anti-CPP detractors.

Thank you for communicating with us directly. In conclusion, we commend the NDFP Negotiating Panel for standing up firmly against the attacks and pressures being made to bear on you by the US imperialists and their agents.

With best comradely regards.

# Character assassination and cheap shots by rabid anti-communists and pseudo-revolutionaries

Jose Maria Sison  
NDFP Chief Political Consultant

**T**he article of Juan Sarmiento of *Inquirer News Service*, titled "Communist Party 'hit list' denounced" and dated December 26, 2004, refers to an open letter to me as CPP founder from Walden Bello and Etta Rosales, supposedly asking me the accusatory rhetorical question, "Does this mean you intend to kill us one by one?"

I have not yet received the letter and I expect Sarmiento or the letter writers themselves to forward it to me, especially after giving it wide publicity. I am making this statement only as a prompt response to Sarmiento's article. I intend to answer the letter directly and fully as soon as I receive a copy of it, unless its full substance is already reported by Sarmiento.

He reports that Bello and Rosales have extrapolated and concluded that they and others are the targets of a "hit list" of the New People's Army on the basis of a diagram made by the CPP International Department to show the ideological and political connections of certain pseudo-revolutionary group-lets in the Philippines to various Trotskyite and social democratic groups and parties abroad.

Consequent to the article of Sarmiento, I have revisited the diagram in question which appears in the December 7, 2004 issue of *Ang Bayan*, as published in the website: [www.philippinerevolution.org](http://www.philippinerevolution.org). Any honest reader can see for himself or herself that this diagram is nothing more than a presentation of the fragmentation of pseudo-revolutionary petty bourgeois group-lets in the Philippines and their connections mainly with various Trotskyite factions abroad. It is not at all a list of criminal suspects subject to arrest and investi-

gation by the NPA and other proper authorities of the revolutionary government.

It is a gross act of mendacity, malice and slander to misrepresent the diagram as a "hit list" and to use the misrepresentation in order to make me the target of character assassination. The purported letter writers are obviously engaged in a spin or psywar operation. This is orchestrated with similar operations of the military propaganda mills and is timed with the 36th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. There is an overall attempt to distract public attention from the full message of the CPP Central Committee, now appearing in the aforesaid website, and to malign the CPP.

Since November, I have been preoccupied with my duties as the newly elected chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) as well as pursuing my complaints against the Dutch government and the European Council in connection with the "terrorist" listing initiated by the US upon the prompting of the Arroyo regime. As NDFP chief political consultant, I have also been occasionally involved in some back channel communications with certain Oslo and Manila officials regarding the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

The malicious letter writers are assisting the US in maligning and criminalizing me, setting me up for physical attacks by the CIA and sabotaging the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. My first impulse has been to ignore the Sarmiento article because the lie reported is so blatantly false and the malicious intent to smear me so obvious. But I have decided to confront the lie because it can do harm one way or the other to myself and to others, including the purported letter writers.

Based on my experience, I do not think that the revolutionary forces would take any punitive action against anyone just because he or she holds pseudo-revolutionary or even blatantly counterrevolutionary ideas. The revolutionary movement respects the freedom of thought and expression. As so many documents issued by the revolutionary movement declare, it can seek to punish only criminal acts like murder, espionage, gross malversation and robbery. These are the criminal offenses for which Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara were held responsible, as Ka Roger of the CPP Information Department has pointed out.

But I do worry about the malicious letter writers and their kind, not because the revolutionary forces might hold them culpable for crimes which can be proven in the people's court but because the murderous type of rabid anti-communists in the military and police might harm these pseudo-revolutionaries and then blame the crime

on the revolutionary forces.

Since the 1960s, we have come to know of instances of the most rabid anti-communists in the military and police engaging in bloody crimes of intrigue. They kill certain persons or make them disappear and then make the revolutionaries the scapegoat. Oplan Jericho was specially designed by US and puppet officers in 1988 to kill me

in the Philippines or abroad and then put the blame on communists. I am in receipt of information that no less than a cabinet member suggested in a meeting of the national security division of the Arroyo cabinet that I be assassinated.

The malicious letter writers are either playing into the hands of the most bloodthirsty elements in

the reactionary establishment and are unwittingly making themselves patsies or they are assured by their handlers in the US and puppet intelligence and psywar agencies that they can get political and financial benefits from the acts of state terrorism now being unleashed against the people and all genuinely patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines. **AB**

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## Complaints should be submitted to the NDFP-JMC and not to the NDFP Chief Political Consultant

**Jose Maria Sison**  
**NDFP Chief Political Consultant**  
**27 December 2004**

**I**t is only today that I get the full text of the open letter of Walden Bello and Etta Rosales, reported on by Juan Sarmiento in the December 26, 2004 issue of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and others in other Manila newspapers. My press statement dated December 26, 2004 has already countered the main line of attack against me.

I have exposed as a lie the claim that a diagram, exposing the fragmented status and international connections of certain anti-communist petty bourgeois grouplets, is a "hit list". I have pointed out that the malicious objective of the lie is to slander me and all the revolutionary forces on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). I have spoken from experience that the revolutionary forces respect the freedom of thought and expression and do not punish anyone for expressing pseudo-revolutionary or even blatantly counterrevolutionary ideas.

Let me begin to answer certain false claims in the open letter that were not covered by the previous report of Sarmiento.

1. False claim: Those who drop out of the armed struggle are targeted for killing just for dropping out.

Answer: The CPP Constitution guarantees every CPP member the right to voluntarily enter or leave the CPP. Leaving the CPP is not a criminal offense that is subject to administrative disciplinary action by the CPP and to judgment by the people's court or court martial. There has to be prima facie evidence for a criminal offense for the people's court or court martial to issue a warrant of arrest for the NPA to carry out.

2. False claim: The 36 years of armed struggle led by the CPP is

merely obsessive.

Answer: Because they are anti-CPP, the letter writers can easily scoff at the resoluteness of the CPP and the people in revolutionary resistance as mere "obsession". They profit from being reformists and well-behaved citizens of the oppressive state. They deprecate the armed revolution of the people and in effect celebrate the fact that the oppressors and exploiters never tire of oppressing and exploiting the people.

3. False claim: Because the CPP regards armed struggle as the principal form of struggle, it regards all other forms of struggle as inferior and threatening to this.

Answer: The national democratic movement led by the CPP has always developed and excelled in all forms of political struggle, even as Marxism-Leninism teaches that it takes an armed revolution to topple bourgeois state power. The pseudo-revolutionaries and re-

formists should not imagine that they are more successful than the national democratic movement in various forms of legal struggle. The CPP has always considered both the legal and the armed forms of struggle as necessary and helpful to each other.

4. False claim: The revolutionary armed struggle has not at all empowered the communities under the CPP leadership.

Answer: The CPP has aroused, organized and mobilized millions of people, built itself as the party of the working class, the people's army, organs of political power, mass organizations and alliances of various types. It has thereby led the people in struggles to empower themselves in urban and rural areas. The accomplishments of the CPP and the people in revolutionary struggle are described in the 36th anniversary message of the CPP Central Committee. This can be read at [www.philippinerevolution.org](http://www.philippinerevolution.org)

5. False claim: The NPA behaves as badly as the paramilitary units of the AFP.

Answer: The letter writers try to put down the NPA by equating it with the paramilitary units of the AFP. They also imply their high regard for the AFP and PNP regulars. They are indeed good citizens of the reactionary state. The AFP and PNP regulars and their paramilitary adjuncts commit the grossest human rights violations on the widest scale. These are well documented.

The letter writers, Walden Bello and Etta Rosales, can talk and write as much as they want against the CPP and other revolutionary forces. And they can be sure that these targets of their malice will always respect their right of free speech and will answer with the facts and well-reasoned arguments in order to win the ideological and

political struggle through debate.

But it is another matter if for example there is a criminal complaint with sufficient evidence that Bello is receiving imperialist funds not only for holding conferences and issuing publications but for organizing groups dedicated to intelligence and psywar for the imperialists against the patriotic and progressive forces. Also, it is another matter if for example there is a criminal complaint against Rosales for stealing funds from her congressional committee, covering up human rights violations or conniving with Imee Marcos in blocking the indemnification of the winning plaintiffs in the US court judgment against the Marcos estate.

Even as the Akbayan and related groups assert that they have the right to engage in any activity, the revolutionary forces will not allow them to use imperialist funds to intrude into the territory of the revolutionary government, undermine the people's government and use the AFP, PNP and official and unofficial paramilitary units against the people and the people's army in Bondoc Peninsula and certain parts of Mindoro and Mindanao. The earlier false claims of Akbayan and others against the revolutionary movement are being answered by the appropriate organs of the people's government. However, Anak ng Bayan, a progressive party in the party list, is still waiting for a satisfactory answer to its complaint against the criminal connivance of Akbayan, the national security adviser, the AFP and PNP in committing electoral fraud and terrorism.

The NDFP, as representative of the revolutionary forces, is firmly committed to the implementation of the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and has co-

operated with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) in establishing the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) of the GRP and the NDFP. Complaints against any side in the current civil war between the revolutionary government and the reactionary government can be submitted by any entity to the appropriate section of the JMC.

If Bello, Rosales and Akbayan have any complaints, they should make the appropriate submission to the NDFP-JMC and not to the NDFP chief political consultant. Their claims about the death of Nong Boy Ocmen in Agusan del Norte and another unnamed person in Nueva Ecija are specific enough. They should bring up the complaint with NDFP-JMC and present the facts. But shotgun allegations should be avoided, like the following:

1. False claim: The NPA is as bad as Citizens Armed Force Geographical Units of the AFP (CAFGU) for recruiting child soldiers in violation of the UN Covenant on the Rights of the Child.

Answer: Since a long time ago, the CPP, NPA and NDFP have declared and implemented the policy of recruiting and deploying for offensive combat operations young men and women who are not younger than 18 years and for self-defense training those not younger than 15 years of age. During their offensive attacks on communities under the governance of the revolutionary forces, the AFP, PNP and CAFGU kidnap children below 18 years of age, misrepresent these as NPA soldiers, detain them and display them for psywar in violation of the Geneva Conventions.

2. False claim: The NPA engages in gross human rights violations and destruction of property

in much the same way as the police and military.

Answer: This claim is not at all borne out by the complaints and facts submitted to the JMC and to the human rights organizations. The letter writers are misusing the name of the Amnesty International in this regard.

3. False claim: The NPA extorts money from electoral candidates in exchange for the “permit to campaign”.

Answer: The clerico-fascists in the GRP negotiating panel made in early 2004 big accusations against the NPA for supposedly extorting money from the electoral candidates early this year. But they never presented any facts. They simply demanded with utmost arrogance that the NDFP submit to the GRP negotiating panel the list of candidates who were supposed to have paid extortion money, state the amount collected per entity and return the money to the said candidates. The clerico-fascists shut up as soon as the NDFP panel countered that the GRP panel was not offering neither a single witness nor documentary evidence and demanded an accounting by Macapagal-Arroyo of how much bribe money she was collecting from so many projects and how much government money she was using for her electoral campaign.

The truth of the matter is that every election time, candidates and parties approach the revolutionary movement for alliance and cooperation, truce or safe conduct and they make offers for the benefit of the people and the revolutionary movement. Whenever there are terms of agreement for the benefit of the people and the revolutionary movement, the revolutionary leaders concerned exercise all necessary prudence. The clerico-fascists and military psywar experts have systematically misrepresented the revolutionary leaders as imprudent and indiscreet and the NPA as extorting money from the electoral candidates and parties and imposing a tax on their right to speak and campaign.

I conclude this press statement by challenging Bello, Rosales and Akbayan to submit their complaints and evidence of human rights violations to the NDFP-Joint Monitoring Committee and not to the NDFP chief political consultant, unless their real exclusive intention is merely to demonize me and set me up for physical attack in line with the “terrorist” labeling done by the US and other governments. The CARHRIHL provides for the NDFP and the revolutionary forces and people it represents to arrest suspected violators of human rights and international humanitarian law, investigate them and, if the evidence warrants, to prosecute and try them.

AB

## Walden Bello exposes himself as a pro-US pseudo-progressive

Jose Maria Sison

NDFP Chief Political Consultant

30 December 2004

In his column in Viewpoints of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 29, 2004, Bello persists in his canard that the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is out to eliminate him and others physically just because they hold ideas counter to the CPP and the new democratic revolution.

He uses this lie in order to accuse me of being “the one that literally calls the shots” and in order to reinforce the baseless “terrorist” listing made by the US, Dutch, European Council and other governments. The malicious attack made by Bello and others on my person is orchestrated with attacks unleashed by the psywar and intelligence agencies of Washington and the Manila government.

In two press statements, one on December 26 and another on December 27, I made the observation that a diagram of the organizational fragmentation of petty bourgeois anti-communist groups in the Philippines and their ideological and political connections with Trotskyite and social democratic groups abroad cannot be a “hit list” (the pejorative term Walden Bello and Etta Rosales used in their December 26 open letter).

I also commented that if Bello, Rosales and the like had complaints of human rights violations against any revolutionary force and/or personnel, they could submit their complaints to the NDFP section of the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). The JMC has been created jointly by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in compliance with the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

### False accusations in Bello’s anti-communist propaganda

Since the establishment of the Joint Secretari-

at of the JMC in Manila a few months ago, with the active support of the Norwegian government, only two formal complaints of human rights violations have been filed against units and personnel of the New People's Army (NPA) in sharp contrast to the 275 charges made against the reactionary armed forces of the Philippines, Philippine National Police and related armed personnel of the GRP. Bello and Rosales are big liars in making the revolutionary forces appear as human rights violators and the AFP and PNP regulars as not.

So far, Bello, Rosales and Akbayan have not submitted any formal complaint and evidence to the JMC about their claims to being the subject of what they consider as grave threats to their lives related to the diagram. Neither have they made any formal complaint and presented any evidence for their claims that the revolutionary forces impose taxes on electoral parties and candidates. They are merely interested in spewing out anti-communist propaganda and trying to malign the Communist Party of the Philippines from the flanks.

As exponent of civil society so-called, Bello is a well-behaved and obedient citizen of the violent state of the US-lining comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class. He is also a highly paid hack whose air miles of traveling and hotel bills can compete with those of high ranking officials of the US State Department. He can sell ideas for conferences on a wide range of topics in quick succession in different capitals of the world. Thus, I am not at all surprised that he is vigorously and stridently opposed to the organized forces and people waging the new democratic revolution through people's war.

Bello has a purpose for inventing the canard that the revolution-

ary forces are out to get him and others merely for talking and writing against the revolution. He calculatingly obscures the fact that Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara were publicly accused of grave crimes like murder, gross malversation of funds, robbery and the like so many years before the NPA sought to arrest them.

His real purpose is to gain another platform for attacking the CPP and its revolutionary line. He goes so far as to claim that he was once a CPP insider in order to present himself as a credible informer. He asserts that I am not just a consultant but something else worthy of the orchestrated attacks unleashed against me by the US, the local reactionaries and their special psywar agents. Bello started to openly attack the CPP in 1986. That was nearly two decades ago. He cannot be a reliable source of current information about the internal affairs of the CPP.

In trying to do a witchhunt and make me appear as one deserving of the imperialist attacks inflicted on me, Bello states, "While you have been busy drawing diagrams of your perceived opponents and dreaming of your world revolution in the safe confines of Utrecht, your so-called counterrevolutionaries have actually been engaged in helping create a truly global movement for change..."

He has absolutely no factual basis for accusing me of drawing the diagram, which he has misrepresented as a "hit list" of the CPP. Personally, I would have preferred to draw a diagram of his anti-communist US connections, especially with certain institutes and agencies that manufacture new slogans for glossing over the extremely oppressive and exploitative character of US imperialism. Bello's bravado comes from his being bankrolled by US-controlled conduits and from

assurances of protection by the coercive apparatuses of the state in the US, Thailand and the Philippines.

The Second Great Rectification Movement of the CPP has criticized, repudiated and rectified the ideological and political errors, including those that led to the bloody witchhunt Kampanyang Ahos. It has condemned the vicious crimes associated with Kampanyang Ahos. But Bello has the temerity to blame these on the CPP even as he protects and collaborates with Ricardo Reyes and Nathan Quimpo. In CPP publications, these two have been identified as among those most responsible for the unjust killings and torture of some hundreds of CPP cadres and members, NPA commanders and fighters and mass activists.

According to the CPP, all those who were chiefly responsible for Kampanyang Ahos and other criminal outrages have fled the CPP and have formed various pseudo-progressive groups connected with the GRP and big compradors and landlords as well as with Trotskyite and social-democratic groups abroad. Bello and Rosales are in one of these groups (Akbayan) and are allied to others on the common ground of opposing the CPP and the revolutionary movement. However, I would not say that those who belong to these small groups are all criminally liable.

Bello's vile anti-communism drives him to a frenzy of ranting in accusing the CPP of having given a bad name to the left because of "fanaticism", having "degenerated into an al-Qaeda type fundamentalist sect", being "an ally of US hegemony", having "murderous behavior", being responsible for deforestation and the floods, and making "left wing fascism" "one of the basic problems", "along with

feudal landed structures, transnational capitalism and US imperialism."

### **Bello as a phoney progressive and pro-US propagandist**

After his vicious outburst of invectives, he concludes triumphantly that he and his ilk have gained the world with their happy wishes for "pluralism", "democratic debate" and "nonviolence" and that in the 21st century under conditions of US dominance as sole superpower, ever worsening crisis and ever escalating plunder and war, the CPP and all revolutionaries are "fossils left behind in the mud of the 20th century".

But why would the political and ideological masters of Bello consider the CPP as the biggest threat to the ruling system? Are not the revolutionary people and the forces of national liberation and socialism on the rise again after all the failed attempts of US imperialism and its camp followers to wipe them out completely with the use of ideological, political, economic and cultural offensives in the wake of the temporary success of modern revisionism in destroying socialist systems from within and likewise the effectiveness of neocolonialism in coopting the nominally independent countries?

Bello exposes himself as a phoney progressive and as a phoney anti-imperialist by mocking at the revolutionary forces of national liberation and socialism and showing off his Philistine sense of comfort within the confines of the imperialist system. Could he have been able to gather large amounts of funds from imperialist agencies through various conduits for holding international conferences were these not for countering the anti-imperialist movement?

His Focus on the Global South is well connected to the imperialist-funded conduit Transnational Institute and the Trotskyite and reformist ATTAC of France (begging for a percentage of cross-border currency transactions as Tobin taxes supposedly for funding priorities such as the prevention of global warming, disease, and poverty). The funds flowing into the projects of Bello can be traced ultimately to foundations and institutes linked to the US government and the US monopoly bourgeoisie.

Bello's usual tack is to pretend at criticizing "globalization" and "war", with the objective of trying to head off real progressives and anti-imperialists and then to swing the conferences he organizes into reformist channels for improving the imperialist system. In the style of the Jesuits in the Counter-Reformation, he employs the time-worn tactics of semantically appearing to be anti-imperialist and yet being in essence for the preservation of the imperialist system by attacking the revolutionaries and harping on reformism against the revolution.

It is absolutely untrue that Bello and his kind were ever genuinely cooperative with the patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines. While the Filipino people were struggling to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship in the period of 1984 to 1986, he was spreading the line that Marcos ought not to be overthrown because the US considered him not only as part of the problem but also as part of the solution. He was also trying to conjure the illusion that "popular democracy" could replace "elite democracy" without armed revolution and that low-value added semimanufacture were the "cutting edge of industrialization".

After the overthrow of Marcos

in 1986, he started to attack the CPP in a series of articles. He used the criticism of the militarism and Kampanyang Aghos and the 1986 boycott policy to call for the liquidation of the CPP and the end of the revolutionary armed struggle in favor of reformism. He spread the line that the armed revolution in the Philippines was unnecessary and hopeless because the US and World Bank were determined to help the Aquino regime to carry out land reform. He also harped on the line that the revolutionary movement should shift to opposing Japan as the main target because this was supposedly displacing the US as the No. 1 power in East Asia. What he meant in fact was to tout as the better option keeping US hegemony with the assistance of Europe.

In the struggle against the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation in the 1990s, he positioned himself against the national democratic mass organizations. He relished being the loyal and friendly critic and consultant of the US and the multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO. In the days and nights of the Battle in Seattle in 1999, imperialist funding afforded Bello and his kind expensive hotel billeting. The mass activists in the streets denounced him and his ilk as tools of the WTO for his role as a subsidized pseudo-critic of US imperialism.

Now, Bello once again claims to have fought and frustrated the WTO in Cancun. But no imperialist conduit-funded entity could have done better than more than 20 third world countries (including such big countries as China, India and Brazil) that resisted the excessive US impositions. After the massive anti-war mass actions of 2003 by tens of millions of people in hundreds of cities, coordinated by ANSWER, Not in Our Name, United for

Peace and International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), Bello belatedly managed to raise the funds for conferences to misrepresent himself and his kind as leaders of the movement against the US war of aggression in Iraq and as defenders of the peoples of Iraq and Palestine.

In fact, the futile objective of the pseudo-progressives, who are in the pay of conduits of US imperialism, is to seize the initiative from the genuine anti-imperialist forces and put up a platform for opposing wars of national liberation, condoning the official violence of reactionary states and broadcasting reformist slogans in support of imperialism and its puppet states.

These pseudo-progressives spread counterrevolutionary notions, such as that "transnationalism", "globalism" and "environmentalism" have invalidated the struggle for all-round national independence, that national industrialization is "environmentally unsustainable" and that "civil society" and "culture of nonviolence" are the politically correct expressions. The primary objective of all these expressions is to discredit armed revolutions and to uphold the "legitimate" monopoly of violence by the imperialist and puppet states.

Even in the most glittering phrases, the reformist and counterrevolutionary notions cannot gloss over the fact that the biggest tragedies of the 20th century are those arising from monopoly capitalism or imperialism. US imperialism has been responsible for the worst tragedies, such as the unbridled plunder and wars of aggression, in the latter half of the century. These continue to this day because imperialism persists as the scourge of humankind.

The proposals of Bello and his ilk for the 21st century would continue to mire the Filipino people in the same tragedies they experienced under the US empire of the 20th century. However, the proletarian revolutionary movement and the broad anti-imperialist movement of the people of the world are resurgent and are growing in strength through revolutionary struggle.

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## CPP, NPA and NDFP uphold human rights

Jose Maria Sison, NDFP Chief Political Consultant

**T**he Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) actively upholds and stands for the full range of human rights by carrying out the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It fights for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people against the US and the local exploiting classes. It protects and promotes the basic freedoms and democratic rights of the people.

The constitutional Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government sets forth the fundamental rights of the people. The constitutions of the CPP and other revolutionary forces define the rights and duties of their members and leading organs in consonance with democratic principles. The Basic Rules of the New People's Army require respect for human rights and humanitarian law

The CPP has carried out two major rectification movements since 1968. These are educational in character. They involve the summing up of experience in order to learn positive and negative lessons, criticize and rectify major errors and shortcomings and clarify the new tasks. The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) from 1992 onwards has been resoundingly successful, as proven by the tremendous growth in strength and advance of all the revolutionary forces and people under the CPP leadership in all forms of struggle.

SGRM documents identify only a handful of renegades culpable for grave crimes. These few have collaborated with the Trotskyites and other

rabid anti-communist propagandists since 1992 in misrepresenting the rectification movement as a "Stalinist bloody purge" worse than Kampanyang Ahos. But to this date, they can cite only the three cases of Filemon Lagman, Romulo Kintanar and Arturo Tabara as so-called purge victims.

In fact, Lagman was killed by the ABB-RPA gang due to a row over P80 million from the bribe money from Amari for the ejection of an urban poor community. CPP spokesman Ka Roger has declared to the public that Kintanar and Tabara were killed in the course of violently resisting arrest. They had been charged with grave crimes before the judicial organs of the people's revolutionary government.

According to information from the CPP, Ricardo Reyes is not criminally liable for being chairperson of Akbayan but he is criminally liable for having been an intelligence asset of Col. Robert Delfin and for being one of the masterminds of Kampanyang Ahos that victimized hundreds of CPP cadres and members, NPA commanders and fighters and mass leaders and members in

the period of 1985 to 1986. He also allegedly directs anti-NPA armed gangs in Bondoc peninsula and elsewhere.

Consistent with the SGRM, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) promulgated the Unilateral Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I in 1996. It worked harder than the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) in forging the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) in the peace negotiations.

Since the approval of CARHRIHL by the NDFP and GRP principals in 1998, the NDFP has vigorously pushed for the implementation of this agreement and for the organization of the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). The Joint Secretariat of the JMC was established in Manila in 2004, with the assistance of the Norwegian government. The GRP and NDFP Sections of the JMC are authorized to receive complaints against violations of CARHRIHL. So far, 275 cases of human rights violations have been filed against the GRP and only two against the NDFP.

The Akbayan ringleaders know that the JMC or any of its two sections is the proper venue for receiving such complaints and related evidence. It is utterly wrong for them to address their complaints to the NDFP chief political consultant. In the first place, it is unjust and malicious of Walden Bello, Etta Rosales and other ringleaders of Akbayan to go to the press and misrepresent as a "hit list" a mere diagram of the state of fragmentation of several anti-communist grouplets and their ideological and political connections with Trotskyite and social democratic groups

abroad.

There is absolutely nothing in the diagram to prove or indicate that any or all those in the list will be killed by anyone or any organization. *Philippine Daily Inquirer* readers can visit [www.philippinerevolution.org](http://www.philippinerevolution.org) to examine the diagram in the December 7, 2004 issue of *Ang Bayan*. Akbayan is utterly malicious in spreading the lie that those who drop out of the CPP and criticize it are subject to execution.

As founding chairman of the CPP, I know enough of revolutionary principles, policy and practice to say that Reyes cannot be punished for holding pseudo-progressive or even counterrevolutionary ideas or beliefs. But criminal charges involving espionage, Kampanyang Apos and armed counter-revolution are an entirely different matter. I speak only in general terms. I do not know the precise status of the cases against Reyes.

The ringleaders of Akbayan pose as protecting Reyes from the long reach of revolutionary justice. But they are after bigger game. They want nothing less than the destruction of the CPP and the entire revolutionary movement of the people. They use one baseless charge to slander and summarily condemn the CPP and this writer in the foulest old style of cold war witchhunts and in the new style of the so-called war on terror. And then, they pour out so many additional accusations without bothering to provide evidence. I leave these to be answered by others.

The ringleaders of Akbayan like to present themselves as concerned with democracy and human rights. But they violate the rights of others to serve their selfish interests. They wantonly slander me and try to incite the public in the

Philippines and abroad to attack my character, physical integrity and life. In the most cowardly fashion, they are taking a ride on the Bush "war on terror" and on the "terrorist" listing initiated by the US.

Walden Bello has gone so far as to blatantly violate my basic human rights by falsely accusing me of being responsible for the so-called hit list. He tries to impress the public by claiming that he was once before a CPP insider in order to buttress his self-presentation as an anti-CPP informer. This highly-paid agent of the Ford Foundation and other imperialist funding agencies is really overstretching himself.

The Akbayan is a small reformist group that is viciously opposed to the CPP line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. It likes to describe itself as "civil society" to proclaim the position that it is critical and reform-seeking but ever loyal to the oppressive state. It is proud to keep relations of civility with big business and the violent state, to oppose the armed revolution of the people and to access funds from the imperialist funding agencies.

The anti-CPP and anti-Sison attacks of Akbayan are orchestrated with the psywar campaign of Washington and Manila government operatives and are amplified by certain right-wing NGO entrepreneurs, Trotskyites and other anti-communist groups. The special anti-communist agents of the US and the local Filipino reactionaries are sometimes and in certain respects far worse than their masters because they attack revolutionaries from behind and from the flanks rather than frontally. AB

# Reyes is criminally culpable for Kampanyang Ahos

Prof. Jose Maria Sison, NDFP Chief Political Consultant

**T**he Negotiating Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has received information from the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the people's prosecution office that Ricardo Reyes is facing criminal charges related to Kampanyang Ahos (Campaign Garlic) and other crimes and that there is prima facie evidence against him to support the warrant issued by the people's court for his arrest.

The most serious charge against Reyes involves Kampanyang Ahos and has been pending long before the formation of Akbayan. Since 1992, he has been formally charged before the people's court for abusing his high position in the CPP Mindanao Commission and violating human rights by instigating, approving and conducting Kampanyang Ahos.

This campaign involved the kidnapping, torture and murder of hundreds of CPP cadres and members, NPA commanders and fighters and mass activists who were falsely accused of being enemy deep penetration agents (DPAs). It was a bloody witchhunt reminiscent of medieval times in Europe. The accused were deprived of the right to due process and other democratic rights.

As deputy secretary of the Mindanao Commission, Reyes systematically spread the hysterical claim that DPAs had heavily infiltrated the revolutionary organizations in Mindanao. While the secretary of the commission Benjamin de Vera was in Luzon, Reyes as deputy approved in mid-1985 the formation of the so-called caretaker committee to carry out Kampanyang Ahos. This campaign raged in the second half of 1985 and continued up to several months in 1986.

Reyes extended the campaign to the national capital and tried to

malign as DPAs some prominent mass leaders of the national democratic movement, falsely accusing them of criminal links with those arrested as DPAs in Mindanao. The CPP Executive Committee defended and protected the mass leaders and stopped Reyes from making a pogrom in the national capital.

But still, Reyes managed to carry out the abduction of Dave Barrios from the UCCP building in 1986, with the assistance of Nathan Quimpo and an armed team assigned by Romulo Kintanar. Reyes was the one who twice injected the drug to put Barrios to sleep and who drove the car that brought the victim to a safehouse for torture and murder. The testimonies of two direct witnesses are among the evidence before the people's court.

When he was investigated in 1987 for allegedly causing the 1986 arrest of Rodolfo Salas by informing the enemy, Reyes admitted to the investigating committee that he had signed up in 1982 as an intelligence asset of then Col. Robert Delfin but that he had done so to become a double agent, with loyalty to the CPP. This finding of the investigating committee could not be further pursued due to enemy offensives in the national capital region and in the countryside from 1988 to 1991.

In the years leading to the

start of the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) in 1992, Reyes secretly wrote anti-CPP poison articles under the direction of a team run by the Bureau of Foreign Intelligence of the US State Department. During the SGRM, Reyes publicly attacked the CPP and received "consultancy fees" from a Ford Foundation-financed "nongovernmental organization" (NGO) and another NGO funded by the US AID.

According to the CPP, it is looking further into what apparently could be a continuing criminal career of Reyes and into his criminal liabilities indicated by the following circumstances:

Akbayan has collaborated with the Philippine Army (PA) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) not only in psywar operations and in the commission of electoral fraud and terrorism against the six progressive parties in the party list but also in deploying Akbayan officers and members as informers in murderous operations against the revolutionary forces and people in Batangas, Bondoc Peninsula, Mindoro provinces, Agusan, Davao provinces and Bukidnon.

Akbayan has organized local armed gangs acting as the barangay intelligence network (BIN) and paramilitary units of the armed forces of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). For instance, Pedro (otherwise known as Dioscoro) Tejino, who is being misrepresented in the press by Etta Rosales as an innocent poor farmer, "hounded" by the NPA and "hiding" in Manila for more than one year, is actually the gang leader of the BIN in Bondoc

Pensinsula. Twenty-nine peasants of San Narciso, Quezon denounced him as a military agent on March 2, 2004, responsible for terrorizing and destroying the local peasant association.

According to the CPP, there is prima facie evidence that Ricardo Reyes is engaged in very recent criminal acts against revolutionary forces but he must face first the charges against him for Kampanyang Ahos. He is required to surrender himself for investigation to the authorities of the people's revolutionary government.

It is advisable for him not to resist the warrant of arrest issued by the people's court. Thus, he can avoid the risk of being regarded as an armed and dangerous criminal suspect, who is open to battle. In any legal system, the arresting team is authorized to act in self-defense against an armed suspect and his armed bodyguards, especially under the current conditions of civil war.

I am deeply interested in the truth about Kampanyang Ahos. First, because the families of victims and the people cry out for jus-

tice against this barbaric crime inflicted on the revolutionary forces and people. Second, because I wish to stop the ceaseless unjust attempts of the perpetrators of the crime to put the blame on me.

Since 1988, the US, Philippine and Dutch intelligence services have unjustly blamed Kampanyang Ahos on me to oppose my application for political asylum despite the fact that I was under maximum military detention from 1977 to March 1986. They have coddled the chief perpetrators of the crime and are using them for propaganda against the revolutionary forces.

Reyes should not obfuscate his criminal culpability or claim immunity and impunity by blaming others for Kampanyang Ahos or by citing other alleged crimes and claiming that these have not been properly dealt with. Under the legal and judicial system of the people's revolutionary government, the merits and demerits of a definite charge must be tackled according to the facts and the law.

As regards to the question of line and policy about Kampanyang Ahos and similar phenomena, the

Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) has identified the major errors and shortcomings, criticized, repudiated and rectified them. By undertaking the SGRM, the CPP has made clear that previous decisions by any organ that Kampanyang Ahos was a "complete revolutionary success" or "revolutionary success, with excesses" is utterly wrong.

The wrongdoers are accountable for their own politico-military errors like urban insurrectionism and crimes like Kampanyang Ahos. Crimes are distinguishable from political errors and are submitted to the legal and judicial system of the people's revolutionary government for investigation and possible trial.

I wish there were more space to discuss Kampanyang Ahos and other issues, including those raised by Walden Bello, Etta Rosales, Ronald Llamas, Riza Hontiveros and the staff of the Focus on Global South. But it is good to have some focus on Kampanyang Ahos here. The readers can get further information about issues from [www.philippinerevolution.org](http://www.philippinerevolution.org). **AB**

# Fear your AFP psywar handlers, CPP cautions Akbayan officials

Information Bureau  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
December 29, 2004

**T**he December 26 and 27 statements issued by Prof. Jose Ma. Sison, NDFP Panel Chief Political Consultant, have more than sufficiently addressed the December 26 “open letter” of Akbayan party officials Etta Rosales and Walden Bello that disparaged Prof. Sison, the CPP, the NPA and the people’s revolutionary struggles through lies and deceit.

To Prof. Sison’s statement, we would just like to add and emphasize the following points:

The revolutionary justice system makes careful distinction between counterrevolutionaries in words and counterrevolutionaries in deeds. This is a distinction between those who confine themselves to verbal attacks against the revolutionary movement and those who engage in criminal and fascist acts such as murder, kidnapping for ransom, drug-pushing and large-scale embezzlement that harm the people.

The CPP and the revolutionary forces do battle with counterrevolutionaries in words through ideological and political debate, precisely to expose the latter’s reformist and counterrevolutionary essence. This is especially important vis-a-vis persons who pose as progressives.

It is within this field of political and ideological debate that the CPP’s official organ *Ang Bayan* published a diagram in its December 7 issue detailing the international Trotskyite and social democrat

linkages of local counterrevolutionary groups.

The CPP makes particular effort to expose and oppose Trotskyism and social democracy. Around the world, these movements pretend to represent the interests of the people, but in reality, act to preserve the prevailing oppressive and exploitative social system. They do this by exerting all effort to oppose the revolutionary struggles of the working class, leading them either to the path of reformism or ultra-“Left” actions. Either way, they do harm to the revolutionary movement.

In the Philippines, these political trends are invariably opposed to people’s war even as they are resentful of the fact that revolutionary forces are able to gain substantial victories in conducting legal struggles.

By misrepresenting the December 7 diagram as a “hit list”, Akbayan dovetails the psywar ploy of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) which aims to demonize Prof. Sison, the CPP and the NPA and portray them as “terrorists.”

Akbayan has consistently been echoing the line of AFP psywar operatives, showing just how closely it has been working with the AFP psywar department in spewing venom against the CPP. Like an AFP spokesman, Etta Rosales, in particular, has been making wild and unsubstantiated accusations against the CPP and NPA. She has made the utterly baseless accusation that the NPA has killed Bayan Muna members, and has in the process shown herself to be in the same league as Gen. Jovito Palparan, who has also made such preposterous prevarications in a condemnable attempt to cover up the AFP’s responsibility for these killings.

By allowing themselves to serve as instruments of the AFP psywar campaign to conjure up a so-called hit list, Rosales and Bello have likewise allowed themselves to be set up by AFP psywar tacticians as possible sacrificial lambs by the military. The AFP’s malevolence is without bounds. Many times in the past, the military has targeted persons opposed to the revolutionary movement, even those without any criminal culpability, in order to put the blame on the CPP and the NPA.

Rosales and Bello should beware of maintaining such dangerous liaisons with the AFP. **AB**